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as a cousin and even as a half-brother of his great rival. Lincoln, who knew little about his forbears and cared little about his father, gave some impetus to these rumors by his reticence on the subject, and, his failure to find, what has since been located, the marriage contract of his parents. After his death, his legal associates, from whom he might well have been delivered, Lamon and Herndon, emphasized, with indelicate candor, the probability of his illegitimacy. Later biographers, and they are innumerable, have accepted the stories or passed over them with knowing insinuations, thus becoming purveyors of the scandal.

The author would refute the stories, and this he believes his research has accomplished, as he hopes, but one fears vainly to silence the raconteurs. He has done a laborious piece of work, although he is somewhat annoying in his pride of method, certainty in his findings, confusion in arrangement and inclusion in full of letters and documents easily paraphrased. His treatment is reasonably delicate, although his reader is escorted to an early camp-meeting of characteristic grossness. Sifting the different stories, Rev. Mr. Barton succeeded in cataloguing them under the head of eight potential fathers, including the legal husband of Lincoln's mother. He then traced each story to its lair, visited in the locality, delved in the county records, listened to the gossip of reputed relatives, gave ear to local lawyers' anecdotes, and questioned aged mountaineers. He has scrutinized the lives of Nancy and Thomas, and sees little reason to doubt their honesty. He refutes, to his own satisfaction, every story, as he suggests the ease with which they were created in a primitive frontier, where records were neglected or ill-kpt. His work must be used by future Lincoln writers, who may or may not accept his proof.

Lincoln, in 1860, suggested that his life had been summed up by the poet, as "the short and simple annals of the poor." It might have done. He is dead a half-century; little that can be written will increase or mar the fame of Abraham Lincoln.

History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896.

By James Ford Rhodes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919. Pp. 484.

This volume is a continuation of that monumental work by Mr. Rhodes, which, in seven large tomes, recounted the story of the nation from the compromise of 1850 to the restoration of

home rule in the South under President Hayes in 1877. However, it is not worthy a place as the eighth volume in the set, nor, fortunately, will it compare with the author's single volume, *History of the Civil War*.

The same judicial impartiality is wanting. Nor is there the same commendable scholarly investigation or as close a personal analysis of the sources. Too much reliance has been placed upon paid researchers, at best dangerous to sound, constructive work in any field of science. Mr. Rhodes, nevertheless, was assuredly happy in obtaining the services of that superbly qualified researcher in the Harvard library, Mr. D. M. Matteson, who, as many footnotes advise the reader, prepared theses upon which no inconsiderable portions of certain chapters are primarily based. Again, as the period covered falls within the active business career of Mr. Rhodes, he is inclined to depend on his memory of passing events or upon his recollection of private conversations with political and industrial leaders. Hence, at times, pages are reminiscent. At all events, there is no better perspective than one would anticipate in a survey of such recent administrations by one so vitally concerned with individuals and governmental policies. Again, this book is neither as well, nor as interestingly written, as its companion volumes. Colloquial expressions are frequent, such as "selves" (p. 104), "croakers" and "give a lift to affairs" (p. 105), "Grant needed a job" (p. 113), "loomed large" (p. 329), "before quitting Cleveland" (p. 457), to note a few lapses. The thirteen States of Washington's first inauguration (p. 328) is a curious slip.

Character sketching is Rhodes' delight, as well as his forte. At times, he is rather candid. Somewhat bitter and iconoclastic in his portrayal of Blaine, savoring of a hero-worship in his sketches of "good" Republicans like Harrison, Hayes and Roosevelt, and of a "gold" democrat like Cleveland, Mr. Rhodes, when dealing with Mark Hanna, his brother-in-law, is cautious and kindly—certainly more so than contemporary accounts or the classic biography by Herbert Croly.

Professor Burgess has written no finer eulogy of the Hayes administration than that by Mr. Rhodes in the first chapters. However, one question if an apologia is necessary, despite his doubtful election, for a president, who selected as cabinet leaders, Evarts, John Sherman, Schurz and the Confederate and Democrat Key of Tennessee, who dealt so liberally with Louisiana and

South Carolina, who closed the Civil War and advanced civil service and political reform. When partisanship declines, President Hayes may be known as McKinley observed him: "Hayes was a pure man—pure in his life, pure in his walk, pure in his conversation; his whole life was an example to the young men of the United States."

As a capitalist, Mr. Rhodes is too worried over industrial disputes and disorders, and, hence, inclined to overweigh their importance. Otherwise, it would be difficult to ascribe his assignment of thirty-five pages to the Molly Maguire episode of the Pennsylvanai coal fields. Paul Haworth, in the "*United States in Our Own Times, 1865-1920*," allots a short paragraph, while Charles Lingley, in his recent book, *Since the Civil War*, gives about a page to the Molly Maguires. While Rhodes, with elaborate journalistic detail, describes the riotous conditions in the Schuylkill, the Irish invasion of the coal fields, the lawless character of their associations, the individual murders, the plots against mine bosses, the glorified activities of the Pinkerton detective, James McParlan; the valorous attack on the Mollies by the successful operator and Reading president, Franklin Gowen (later a suicide), and the long trial resulting in the death penalty for some twenty misguided Irishmen. No attempt at explanation has been made in the way of a study of social, racial, and working conditions in the coal fields, without which there can be no understanding of the maddening burdens of the miners in those years of desperate labor competition following the Civil War and the industrial panic of the early seventies. Such a study may explain this black episode in Irish-American history, fortunately the only Irish connection with anarchistic radicalism. The account is not without bias, based, as it is, chiefly on the *New York Tribune*, the court prosecution, contemporary articles in the *Contemporary Review* (1877) and the *American Law Review*, and a popular account by E. P. Dewees, a local attorney. However, Mr. Rhodes is influenced only by an economic bias.

Relative to the attitude of the Church, the author writes: "A word here should be said concerning the position of the Roman Catholic clergy. Father O'Connor's aversion to McParlan was not due to any love for the Molly Maguires. On the contrary, he had denounced them from the pulpit, and read, only a short time previous, the pastoral letter of Archbishop Wood excommunicating all lawless societies and especially the Molly Ma-

guires. . . . Wood was the Archbishop of Philadelphia, and had almost from the first been cognizant of, and sympathetic with, the means which Gowen employed to bring the Molly Maguires to justice" (p. 79). Considering the means by which lawlessness was stamped out, he continues: "To these must be added the Roman Catholic Church, which, though in a difficult situation (for the Molly Maguires were Catholics and there were many Catholic sympathizers with them outside of the organization), was, as always has been the case in the United States (I believe), on the side of law and order."

Concerning the racial characteristics of the movement, Rhodes points out that the Mollies, McParlan and Gowen, were all Irish or sons of Irishmen; hence, it would seem, that only the criminal side of the movement should not be laid upon the race. Resuming, the author suggests: "A peculiar feature stands out, differentiating the Molly Maguires from any criminal organization of any other peoples of the Indo-European family. We read of strong drink and carousing, of robbery and murder, but nowhere during the orgies of dissolute women. We read of wives and families, of marriage and the giving in marriage, of childbirth, but nowhere of the appearance of the harlot. The Irishman, steeped in crime, remained true to the sexual purity of his race. . . . The characteristic failings of the Celts . . . were intensified in their Irish descendants by the seven centuries of misgovernment of Ireland by England. Subject to tyranny at home, the Irishman, when he came to America, too often translated liberty into license, and, so ingrained was his habit of looking upon government as an enemy, that, when he became the ruler of cities and stole the public funds, he was, from his point of view, only despoiling the old adversary. With his traditional hostility to government, it was easy for him to become a Molly Maguire, while the English, Scotch and Welsh immigrant shrank from such a society with horror" (pp. 86-87).

A bad year was that of 1877. Mr. Rhodes (1909) is correct in the summary that: "It is probable that the ratio of unemployed to the total population has never been larger in this country than during 1877, and the strikes and riots of that year constituted the most serious labor disturbance that has ever occurred in the United States" (p. 46). But the year is unfortunate in its chronicler. Mr. Rhodes, while suggesting railroad abuses, is in sympathy with the roads, and with the militia, who, on strike

duty, could dine at Delmonico's, and who, therefore, must have represented the best young citizenry of New York. His plea is for a larger standing army for industrial purposes, for he believes that the trade unionists "do not wish to relinquish the element of terror in the conduct of strikes." Vividly he describes the industrial warfare against the great trunk lines, with the "mob violence" of the "dangerous classes" in the anthracite region, where the bulk of workmen were always "overbearing and lawless," and how the "contagion" spread from Baltimore to Buffalo, to Pittsburgh, Reading and Chicago, when mobs of discharged railroad employees were joined by "sundry outcasts." He would draw a parallel with the Paris commune. Dependence on newspapers, the then reactionary *Nation*, British consular reports, and Allan Pinkerton's *Strikes, Communists, Tramps and Detectives*, may account, in part, for labor's prosecution.

The Chinese riots of the coast and Kearneyism of that year he would ascribe to the desire for riot in the air, and to the Irish and American "hoodlums," who blamed the Chinese for their own failings and panic conditions. Californians will not agree with this chapter eight, even though they may see humor in Henry Beecher's view of Chinese vices and paganism that we cannot blow them into heaven with nitroglycerine.

The accounts of the strike of 1886, the Haymarket riot, the Homestead strike, and the Chicago railway strike will not satisfy the conservative student of labor problems. Cleveland's action in the Chicago strike is highly commended, and, in justification of the legality and advisability of his energetic action, are cited such jurists as Cooley, Brewer and Taft. In this connection, Mr. Rhodes goes afar to pay tribute: "The Catholic Church, true to her conservative record in our country, was correctly represented by Archbishop Ireland when he said: 'I approve President Cleveland's course in the strike. His prompt action brought State and city officials, citizens and strikers to their senses'" (p. 428).

Mr. Rhodes, with keen insight, has described the various political conventions and campaigns. In connection with the Republican convention of 1884, when Senator Hoar and George Curtis were urging the candidacy of General Sherman, we are told that their boom was destroyed by their associate Massachusetts delegates, who observed: "Our people do not want a Father confessor in the White House." The reference was to the Cath-

olic faith of the general's wife. The Blaine-Cleveland election, vilest of all campaigns, is interestingly told. Blaine, who "had probably prostituted his position as speaker for the purpose of making money" (p. 216), was of pure private life, while Cleveland's public morality was without blemish and his private life corrupt. As Henry Ward Beecher, scarcely out of the courts with his scandal, supported Cleveland, ribald jokers were given a rare opportunity. Republican managers, we are informed: "Made an adroit bid for the Irish-Catholic vote, which was always Democratic and generally controlled by Tammany Hall. . . . Although Blaine was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, his mother was a Roman Catholic, and this consideration proved to be of great weight, enforced, as it was, by his consistent action during his public career in favor of the Irish. Cleveland's character was peculiarly obnoxious to them, and scandal was busy in propagating stories which still further affected his hold, while, on the other hand, the use of public position to feather one's nest was not regarded by the Irish as so grievous a sin as irregular sexual relations" (pp. 224-25). Then came Minister Burchard's "rum, Romanism and rebellion" address to Blaine, and the turning of votes at the last moment, enough to turn New York and with it the election.

Grant's later career, his financial bankruptcy and his forced writing of his *Memoirs* are related with pathos. The fight for hard money, especially Cleveland's stand, is narrated by Rhodes the business-man. Tariff, civil service, campaign contributions, reciprocity, income tax, Chilean and Venezuelan diplomacy are all treated comprehensively, though with a natural prejudice—the prejudice of a contemporary observer who thinks. In the treatment of foreign affairs, some will grieve that a study of English-American diplomacy, despite predilections that way, left Rhodes of the opposite view to his friend, a close student, who once told him "that English diplomacy during the last part of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries was, so far as it dealt with this country, knavish."

All told, it is a mighty suggestive, rather than an authoritative, scientifically accurate survey of a great epoch, by a scholarly observer, deeply read in the nation's past.

R. J. P.